5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



As the members of a gens were all considered as relatives, however remote, there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his gens. Originally this law was strictly enforced, but like many of the ancient customs it is no longer observed. Lately, within the last forty or fifty years, it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens, to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes often received outsiders, who were not related by blood to the gens; and such people or their descendants could marry within the gens. Ancestry became no longer necessary to membership. 582 178 614 [166]

As a rule, before a young man could marry, he was required to have made some successful expeditions to war against the enemy, thereby proving himself a brave man, and at the same time acquiring a number of horses and other property, which would enable him to buy the woman of his choice, and afterwards to support her. 582 [583]

Marriages usually took place at the instance of the parents, though often those of the young man were prompted by him. Sometimes the father of the girl, if he desired to have a particular man for a son-in-law, would propose to the father of the latter for the young man as a husband for his daughter. 584

The marriage in the old days was arranged after this wise: The chief of one of the bands may have a marriageable daughter, and he may know of a young man, the son of a chief of another band, who is a brave warrior, of good character, sober-minded, steadfast, and trustworthy, who he thinks will make a good husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law. After he has made up his mind about this, he is very likely to call in a few of his close relations, the principal men among them, and state to them his conclusions, so as to get their opinions about it. If nothing is said to change his mind, he sends to the father of the boy a mes- [581]

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



584 senger to state his own views, and ask how the father feels about the matter.

On receiving this word, the boy's father probably calls together his close relations, discusses the matter with them, and, if the match is satisfactory to him, sends back word to that effect. When this message is received, the relations of the girl proceed to fit her out with the very best that they can provide. If she is the daughter of well-to-do or wealthy people, she already has many of the things that are needed, but what she may lack is soon supplied. Her mother makes her a new cowskin lodge, complete, with new lodge poles, 584 lining, and back rests. A chief's daughter would already 291 have plenty of good clothing, but if the girl lacks anything, 531 it is furnished. Her dress is made of antelope skin, white as snow, and perhaps ornamented with two or three hundred elk tushes. Her leggings are of deer skin, heavily beaded and nicely fringed, and often adorned with bells and brass buttons. Her summer blanket or sheet is an elk skin, well tanned, without the hair and with the dew-claws left on. Her moccasins are of deer skin, with parfleche soles and worked with porcupine quills. The marriage takes place as soon as these things can be provided.

584 During the days which intervene between the proposal and the marriage, the young woman each day selects the choicest parts of the meat brought to the lodge, — the tongue, "boss ribs," some choice berry pemmican or what not, — cooks these things in the best style, and, either alone, or in company with a young sister, or a young friend, goes over to the lodge where the young man lives, and places the food before him. He eats some of it, little or much, and if he leaves anything, the girl offers it to his mother, who may eat of it. Then the girl takes the dishes and returns to her father's lodge. In this way she provides him with three meals a day, morning, noon, and night, until the marriage takes place. Every one in camp who sees the girl carrying the food in a covered dish

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



to the young man's lodge, knows that a marriage is to take place; and the girl is watched by idle persons as she passes to and fro, so that the task is quite a trying one for people as shy and bashful as Indians are. When the time for the marriage has come, — in other words, when the girl's parents are ready, — the girl, her mother assisting her, packs the new lodge and her own things on the horses, and moves out into the middle of the circle — about which all the lodges of the tribe are arranged — and there the new lodge is unpacked and set up. In front of the lodge are tied, let us say, fifteen horses, the girl's dowry given by her father. Very likely, too, the father has sent over to the young man his own war clothing and arms, a lance, a fine shield, a bow and arrows in otter-skin case, his war bonnet, war shirt, and war leggings ornamented with scalps, — his complete equipment. This is set up on a tripod in front of the lodge. The gift of these things is an evidence of the great respect felt by the girl's father for his son-in-law. As soon as the young man has seen the preparations being made for setting up the girl's lodge in the centre of the circle, he sends over to his father-in-law's lodge just twice the number of horses that the girl brought with her, — in this supposed case, thirty.

As soon as this lodge is set up, and the girl's mother has taken her departure and gone back to her own lodge, the young man, who, until he saw these preparations, had no knowledge of when the marriage was to take place, leaves his father's lodge, and, going over to the newly erected one, enters and takes his place at the back of it. Probably during the day he will order his wife to take down the lodge, and either move away from the camp, or at least move into the circle of lodges; for he will not want to remain with his young wife in the most conspicuous place in the camp. Often, on the same day, he will send for six or eight of his friends, and, after feasting them, will announce his intention

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



585 of going to war, and will start off the same night. If he does so, and is successful, returning with horses or scalps, or both, he at once, on arrival at the camp, proceeds to his father-in-law's lodge and leaves there everything he has brought back, returning to his own lodge on foot, as poor as he left it.

584 We have supposed the proposal in this case to come from the father of the girl, but if a boy desires a particular girl for his wife, the proposal will come from his father; otherwise matters are managed in the same way.

584 This ceremony of moving into the middle of the circle
184 was only performed in the case of important people. The
556 custom was observed in what might be called a fashionable wedding among the Blackfeet. Poorer, less important people married more quietly. If the girl had reached marriageable age without having been asked for as a wife, she might tell her mother that she would like to marry a certain young man, that he was a man she could love and respect. The mother communicates this to the father of the girl, who invites the young man to the lodge to a feast, and proposes the match. The young man returns no answer at the time, but, going back to his father's lodge, tells him of the offer, and expresses his feelings about it. If he is inclined to accept, the relations are summoned, and the matter talked
583 over. A favorable answer being returned, a certain number
585 of horses — what the young man or his father, or both
184 together, can spare — are sent over to the girl's father.
556 They send as many as they can, for the more they send, the more they are thought of and looked up to. The girl, unless her parents are very poor, has her outfit, a saddle horse and pack horse with saddle and pack saddle, parfleches, etc. If the people are very poor, she may have only a riding horse. Her relations get together, and do all in their power to give her a good fitting out, and the father, if he can possibly do so, is sure to pay them back what they have given.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



595 585 quent marriages, if the man had proved a good, kind husband to his first wife, other men, who thought a good deal of their daughters, might propose to give them to him, so that they would be well treated. The man sent over the horses to the new father-in-law's lodge, and the girl returned to his, bringing her things with her. Or if the man saw a girl he liked, he would propose for her to her father.

834 [584] [171] Among the Blackfeet, there was apparently no form of courtship, such as prevails among our southern Indians. Young men seldom spoke to young girls who were not relations, and the girls were carefully guarded. They never went out of the lodge after dark, and never went out during the day, except with the mother or some other old woman.

584 [593] [762] The girl, therefore, had very little choice in the selection of a husband. If a girl was told she must marry a certain man, she had to obey. She might cry, but her father's will was law, and she might be beaten or even killed by him, if she did not do as she was ordered. As a consequence of this severity, suicide was quite common among the Blackfoot girls. A girl ordered to marry a man whom she did not like would often watch her chance, and go out in the brush and hang herself. The girl who could not marry the man she wanted to was likely to do the same thing.

593 [684] [759] The man had absolute power over his wife. Her life was in his hands, and if he had made a payment for her, he could do with her about as he pleased. On the whole, however, women who behaved themselves were well treated and received a good deal of consideration. Those who were light-headed, or foolish, or obstinate and stubborn were sometimes badly beaten. Those who were unfaithful to their husbands usually had their noses or ears, or both, cut off for the first offence, and were killed either by the husband or some relation, or by the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* for the second. Many of the doctors of the highest reputation in the tribe were women.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



It is a common belief among some of those who have investigated the subject that the wife in Indian marriage was actually purchased, and became the absolute property of her husband. Though I have a great respect for some of the opinions which have been expressed on this subject, I am obliged to take an entirely different view of the matter. I have talked this subject over many times with young men and old men of a number of tribes, and I cannot learn from them, or in any other way, that in primitive times the woman was purchased from her father. The husband did not have property rights in his wife. She was not a chattel that he could trade away. He had all personal rights, could beat his wife, or, for cause, kill her, but he could not sell her to another man. 421 593

All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his potential wives. If he was not disposed to marry them, they could not be disposed of to any other man without his consent. 595 [582]

Not infrequently, a man having a marriageable daughter formally gave her to some young man who had proved himself brave in war, successful in taking horses, and, above all, of a generous disposition. This was most often done by men who had no sons to support them in their old age. 583

It is said that in the old days, before they had horses, young men did not expect to marry until they had almost reached middle life, — from thirty-five to forty years of age. This statement is made by Wolf Calf, who is now very old, almost one hundred years, he believes, and can remember back nearly or quite to the time when the Blackfeet obtained their first horses. In those days, young women did not marry until they were grown up, while of late years fathers not infrequently sell their daughters as wives when they are only children. 582 178 [115] [584]

The first woman a man marries is called his sits-beside-him wife. She is invested with authority over all the other 595

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



might be ended by a payment of horses to the family of the deceased. Thus it was possible for a wealthy man literally to get away with murder, although he would not enhance his popularity by doing so.

Frequent changes in band allegiance brought together in one residential community people without blood relationship closer than that of second cousins. Marriage between such persons was permitted. In fact, the fathers and mothers of several of my older Blackfoot informants were members of the same band at the time of their marriages.

Young men enjoyed remarkable freedom in their sexual life. They accosted girls while they were alone gathering wood or water on the outskirts of camp. They bragged of their conquests, particularly if they had had an affair with a married woman. Chastity before marriage was more an ideal than a reality for many girls. Yet a girl who earned a reputation for being too free with her favors might have to be satisfied with marrying a poor boy whose future prospects were equally poor.

Faint-hearted lovers, or more aggressive ones whose advances were repulsed by the girls of their choice, sometimes employed love medicines to bring them success in their amorous endeavors. These were secret formulae concocted by specialists for a fee. Because the Cree Indians were famous for these medicines, the Blackfeet referred to love medicine as "Cree Medicine." There were many varieties. One such medicine called for making two little birch bark images, one representing a man and the other a woman. A stick was dipped in the liquid medicine, then touched to the hearts of the male and female figures. This magic was certain to make the girl long for the company of her as yet unsuccessful lover. So powerful were love medicines reputed to be that resistance to them was considered useless.

Fathers and mothers were ambitious for their daughters to marry well. It was not uncommon for the father of a little girl to tell a successful warrior, "When my daughter is old enough, she will be your wife." The marriage might not take place for a decade. Elk-Hollering-in-the-Water told me she was promised

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one.

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family.

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony.

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt.

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are 184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law [606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt 937 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find 577 some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband 556 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own 184 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik- 581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot



593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[858] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
585 were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
[591] followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
586 bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political authority now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the management of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

## III. Northern Blackfoot Kinship Terms*

1. *nao'ze*, "my grandparent."
   (*a*) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   (*b*) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under 5*d*, 6*d* and 7*c*).
   (*c*) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   (*d*) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
   (*e*) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   (*f*) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   (*g*) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nan'a*, "my father."
   (*a*) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
   (*b*) Husband of mother's sister.
   (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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his father-in-law at the Tobacco Dance, occupy a bed in his father's tipi at the Sun Dance, live with an age-mate at the Calgary Stampede, and harvest hay with his brother-in-law.

Sociability may be another reason for moving. Thus many households pitch a tent at the mine in winter though no pay is received from mining. These people merely enjoy living in a centre of activity; certainly no one wants to be isolated on the snow-swept prairie. Not infrequently a relative may be seen camping outside a farm house for several days, his only grounds for living there being sociability.

This presents a picture of self-interested migration by individual households with any kinship affiliation serving as a liaison. There are many exceptions, however, where a stable cluster of relatives forms the centre of the extended family. Even in buffalo days there was a fringe of impermanently attached tipis with every band. The greater the wealth and generosity of a relative, the more stable and large is his extended family. At the upper limit on a continuum of stability it is possible to cite half a dozen extended families that reside together almost continuously throughout the year.[1] The members of this group would describe the situation by saying, "I camp with Boy Chief." Near the mean of stability are persons with less wealth and generosity whose relatives come and go for various reasons but return frequently. Such a central figure may be an old, respected man of wisdom or a younger farmer with habits of industry. With these people one is apt to hear a longer and qualified description of peregrinations: "I live with my father but go up west to my older brother's place on the farm during the summer. My older brother usually comes down here to camp in the winter time, too." Here is a statement that implies loyalty to a respected old man who cannot provide for his sons economically. On the lower extreme of the continuum are the poor and isolated who in some manner have behaved so as to cut themselves off from their kinfolk. They move to and fro camping where they may, or still more miserably, living friendless in a house exposed to the weather. There are very few of these.

Solidarity within the extended family is gained by such events of common interest as a marriage. In conservative Indian circles the woman's kinsmen select the spouse, whose kin are approached

[1]Cf. p. 86.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collaborate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the extreme is the following:

A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1] This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



582 Many parents were happy to give their daughters away in marriage while they were still quite young and innocent. It was thought that they would do better growing up in their husbands' household, especially if there were already other wives who could teach them the ways of their household. If a man treated his wives well and they had younger sisters, the parents often said: "He has proven himself a good son-in-law, so we know you will not go wrong with him." Parents who were poor or sickly often gave their daughters away at a young age if they had a hard time to provide for them. While most women didn't get married until they were fourteen or sixteen, and some never got married at all, quite a number of women in the old days started their married life as child brides. One of these is a very kindly lady who has lived into her eighties feeling quite satisfied with life. She is one of those who always call girls my age "granddaughter," and I really admire her wisdom and experience.

115 Mrs. Annie Wadsworth is better known among her people as Brown Woman. Her father was named Moon Calf, and her mother, Forward Stealing Woman. She had two well-known brothers named Ernest Brave Rock and Fred Tail-
582 feathers. When she was seven years old her parents gave her in marriage to eighteen-year-old Willie Wadsworth, who had just graduated from the reserve's boarding school. She says that he treated her very well throughout their long life together, and she is proud of their accomplishments at farming, and such traditional roles as the keeping of a medicine pipe. They had twelve children.

## BROWN WOMAN'S STORY

584 Yes, I was still running amongst the girls. I was still small and naughty. My father told me one day, "You will get married. There is a boy that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy, so he will be kind to you."

584 I was very proud that I was getting married. I should have been educated first, but I obeyed my father to get married so that someone would look after me. He was getting ill then.

584 My mother sewed moccasins for me to get married in. When 484 winter came, it was on Christmas; they got me my horse and they tied a travois on him. I had my bedding and I had two parfleches; one was full of moccasins and one was full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows (backrests) were loaded, too, and some blankets were put on top. I rode on one horse and there were two more horses with many blankets tied on them; they were all presents from my folks. I don't remember everything about it, because I was small. I don't know how many more horses were sent later; my husband traded some of them off for cows.

[292] I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen blanket. We arrived at the old place where we used to get our rations. An interpreter lived there. His name was Young Scabby Bull, a black-white man [the Negro Dave Mills]. My mother told me to stay in there for a while, so that she could go and get rations. This was ration day.

So I sat there. Then a woman came in and kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping to see my mother, but I never saw her again that day. She took me out and put me on the horse with the travois. So we started off again. The woman led the two other horses. She was on horseback, too.

We came to a house. It was the house of my deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there by the name of Bull Head. He had two wives. One of them was named Shaggy. They both jumped out and took me down. I must have looked funny. A woman by the name of Annie started to laugh at me. She was John Cotton's wife. I must have looked really funny. It was in the winter and I had on my buckskin dress, and my shawl was a small fancy blanket.

They fed us and then we started off again, on and on. Fi-

584 nally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the
484 ration house. We came to a place that is called Willows-in-the-
Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a
585 sod roof. We went in and they took my belongings. At one
side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved
fancy. It was the bed of the one I was going to marry!

My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her: "Have you got any toys?" She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him most. A person asked me: "What is the matter with you?" I told her: "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said: "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . Her son-in-law was Crop-Eared Wolf, the head chief, and that is where she moved to. Then I had to prove
585 myself. I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when
606 she went up west and the other mother of my husband's—his real mother's sister—she was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water. Now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. She never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it.

829 back up what you say with your initiations. The leaders of the tribe always went through most of the transfer and took care of the main bundles. I have the rights to a lot of things that I don't even speak up about, because I don't want to make things too complicated. But we have to stick by the wisdom of our ancestors, and not try to outsmart them in talking about the Creator, and all that is created.

584 I started to like Mokakin when I was at the boarding school—St. Paul's, here on the reserve. That's back in the days when we lived at the school practically all year. We grew up there, my sister and I. My father was planning to choose a husband for me when I came out of school. He wanted someone from a wealthy family, someone that would go through a lot of transfers and take good care of his family that way. I wanted to marry Mokakin, so one day he came for me on horseback. I ran away from the school and eloped with him. In those times fathers still chose husbands for their daughters.

[178] Today, the young people do not even ask their parents for advice about marriage. They just look for each other, even 834 while they are young, still. When we were young, we would always be kept just with other girls. Our mothers and aunts and relatives watched us very close. They didn't allow even one boy to hang around. We didn't know how it was to just be walking around outside by ourselves. A soon as it was dark we had to be inside the house. This was especially true at the Sun [178] Dance camps. Nowadays the kids just run wild there, day and [829] night. I tell you it was much better when life was strict.

583 Back at the school they talked about putting Mokakin in jail for taking me away with him. He was older than I was. But I wasn't young anymore, either. I was already planning to leave school, and my father was already looking around for a son-in-law. But he didn't want Mokakin, so I just took off with him. After that he had to accept him, since I was his Minipoka, his special child.

575 functions only among the Bloods. Every year, during the Sun
796 Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a spe-
535 cial lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their
562 meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private.
[533] Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies, espe-
cially the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the
778 dance songs. The members wear ancient headdresses that they
[575] keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the
[292] year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the
only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and
they are very highly regarded by all the tribe.

535 When the days of war parties and scalp-taking ended, in the later eighteen hundreds, the old Scalp Dance evolved into a social dance known as the Circle Dance, or the Long-Tail Dance. It was a slow dance in which the people joined hands and arms and moved sideways in large circles. Men, women, and children all took part, but from looking at old photos it seems that the dancers were most often rows of women. This dance is still performed, though at a slightly quicker pace, under the current name of Round Dance. It is the native version of a "slow dance," and is often requested when the fast dancers are about worn out.

Another popular dance for both men and women is called the Owl Dance. It has a lively hard-soft drumbeat to which the people generally dance in couples, following each other in a circling or waving line around the dance floor. Some fancy-dressed men follow this dance alone, while others fol-
[834] low with a woman in each arm. Even the elders seem to enjoy this dance a lot, although when they were young tribal customs frowned on the public display of intimacy necessary to
[177] do it properly. Like most of the new Indian-style dances done by the Bloods, this one was introduced from other tribes.

535 Dances have always been important in the courting life of
●584 my grandmothers. They were among the few occasions in the past when young men and young women were allowed to be

A [i.e., of the women's society, Motokiks--Analyst]

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in each other's company—even if the young women were generally well chaperoned. Everyone put on his or her finest clothing in an effort to look pleasing. Those who already had eyes for each other worked hard to send signals and messages, although direct communication was usually forbidden until after marriage. My grandfather, Willie Eagle Plume, told us this story about public dancing in his younger days, around 1920:

"The ladies would sit to one side, at a dance, and the men would sit on the other side. Before a lady went to a dance she would think about her boy friend. She would think: 'I will wear my best so that he will notice me.' A single man would think the same way. The women would sit and watch, and the drummers would start off with a good song. The men, they would dance the best way they could, to impress their girl friends. They were just like them new dancers—they moved their hips just like them white dancers that look like they are dancing by themselves. The men would dance as best as they could, all the while looking at their girl friends. They did it very good: some knew how to take good sneaking glances at the girls.

"Men who liked to show off would paint their faces, and the women would just watch. Those who showed off would dance very slowly so everyone would get a good look at them. They would put on their best faces. By the end of the dance their eyes would be in the side of their head, because that is the way they were looking at their girl friends all night. The women would do the same way when they got up and did their Circle Dances."

An interesting aspect of the Circle Dances was that the women were allowed to wear their husband's special headdresses—those with eagle tailfeathers, that stand straight up, and those with weasel skins and horns. These were sacred headdresses for which the husbands had been initiated. At the time of transfer they would have their wives painted and

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near them. If they did anything that might bring a bad name to the family they were punished quite severely—mostly by their own brothers.

Brothers and sisters were taught to respect each other from an early age. Girls were never allowed to dress improperly in front of their brothers. Some of these customs have gone on to the present time, I can tell you. I was the only girl in my family, and I had six brothers who watched over me. These customs sure caused me and some of my friends a lot of tears and heartaches—like when we had boy friends of whom our brothers didn't approve, or when we wanted to be in style and wear shorter skirts.

In the days when my grandmothers were little girls about the only toys they had were small replicas of the things their mothers worked with—small tipis and camping outfits, dolls and little cradleboards, and miniature tools for tanning and cooking food. They were told about the holy women who put up Sun Dances, with the hopes that they would learn to be honest, kind, and virtuous.

I have often heard that the old Indians sold their daughters. There is some truth to this, but mostly it is a misunderstanding of our customs. When a worthy young man married a respectable girl, both families exchanged presents. However, to win the approval of her parents, the young man first had to show her parents how generous he could be by sending them several fine horses and other property. Since the parents were losing a good household worker in the transaction, these valuables could be looked upon as a return on their investment of having raised the daughter to her prime. I imagine some parents thought of the matter in these terms—especially fathers who had a number of sons. Keep in mind that the daughter's marriage meant she would then be obligated to her husband and his family. Often her parents hardly saw her anymore after the marriage.

The way that a young man first gave notice of his desire for

a certain girl was by sending a very special present to the parents. Since the man was the boss of his family, it was up to him to decide. But you can be sure that most men consulted with their wives before deciding, and kind men consulted with their daughters also. This custom has just died out in recent years, since the time my own mother got married.

The special present was usually brought to the girl's parents by a friend of the young man who wanted her. If the parents accepted the gift, then the marriage was set. Sometimes this happened even though the girl didn't care at all for her suitor, or if she was already in love with someone else. In most cases, however, it didn't matter to the girls. They had been so closely watched while growing up that they didn't really have many opinions on the various eligible men. Few young men stood out by their bravery or early wealth. Parents of girls tried to get such men for their sons-in-law, since they were likely to provide well for their daughters and even for them in their old age. Parents who had several daughters hoped that their oldest one could find an ambitious husband who could afford to take the younger sisters when they became eligible. Some chiefs had over ten wives, many of whom were often sisters. I know of one woman who was only six or seven when she became the youngest wife of a head chief who had married her older sister.

Some parents tried to get their daughters married at a very early age, so that they would be virtuous to their first husbands and perhaps put up a Sun Dance someday. One of my distant grandmothers who is still living was given to a young man as a bride when she was only seven. Her parents were poor, and this young man showed a lot of promise. He had just finished school. The two spent their whole lives together, had many children, and were both successful and happy. She still laughs when she tells me how her new husband's little sister gave her toys to play with, after the marriage, and how he used

***Some children were playing in the bushes by the camp. One of the children was a minipoka. His father was the head chief. Everybody was afraid of this chief; sometimes he got a bad temper, but he was Powerful and a good leader.***

***Oki, the kids were playing in the bushes. The minipoka had to go to the toilet, so he went away from the kids where they could not see him. But the other kids, they wanted to know how a minipoka would take care of himself. So they watched through the bushes. When they looked at him, their eyes got big. What fell to the ground was a big pile of pretty shells, the kind Medicine Pipe Owners wear as a necklace. The children ran out from the bushes and grabbed the shells. They were so excited that they knocked the minipoka down and took all the shells. When he got up, all the shells were gone and the kids ran off through the bushes with them, singing and laughing.***

***The minipoka started to cry and ran home to his father. When he told his father what happened the chief became angry. Right away, he gave the order for camp to be moved and for no one to call home their children. The People had to do what the chief ordered. By the time the children were finished playing and got back to the camp, all they saw were the smoldering fires where their tipis used to be. They all sat down and cried because they knew that they had been abandoned.***

One of our Old People was raised as a minipoka by his influential father. His parents located a young girl from a good family to become his wife, even though he was still a boy and living at home. He became a member of the Horns Society when he was only about twelve or fourteen, which is very unusual. The Old People say that even now he still acts like a minipoka and likes to see things done to suit himself.

While we talked about minipokaiks, Ponah admitted she had been the minipoka of her father, Iron. She said that they had a painted Medicine Tipi transferred to her. When I asked

[p.120-A]

tion of having been married to a ten-year-old girl when he was only twelve. The marriage was arranged by their parents. It is said that Calling First used to have his mother watch his wife while he went out to play with his friends. 778 793 [582] [584]

During the 1930s our next-door neighbor, old Dick Soup, made a vow to take the Long-Time Pipe for his son, Arthur, who was then in a hospital. The following year Arthur returned home, and the Pipe was transferred to him. Old Bird Rattler called out the necessary coups while Soup was given the right to mount a horse (by tradition this required a man to relate how he had rescued a friend during battle) and to dismount (for which the coup had to be about an enemy who was pulled from his horse). Of course, no one today has such deeds among his record of accomplishments. [782] [432] [796] [555] [424] [425]

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Henry Standing Alone, also known as Folded Intestine. He and his wife were well-liked participants in our holy ceremonies. Unfortunately, they were killed recently in a tragic auto accident. Around 1939, Folded Intestine's daughter was very ill and he became depressed and lost his faith in our Old Ways. He wondered why his little girl had to suffer so much instead of him. But his daughter recovered and then he became critically ill. It took three months for him to get well again. While almost dead, he had a dream in which he was told that if he vowed to accept the duties of a Medicine Pipe Bundle, he would recover. He related his dream to two older relatives, Heavy Head and Cross Child, both former Medicine Pipe Keepers. They offered to help him fulfill his vow if he wished to follow their advice. They told him that since no particular Bundle had been mentioned in the dream, he might just as well vow the Powerful Long-Time Pipe. The Bundle was transferred to him during the next Sun Dance Encampment. [165] [771] [787] [782] [755]

Standing Alone transferred the Long-Time Pipe to his sister and her husband, John Red

Owner cried out, 'It sure was broken last year. Everyone saw it. But now it doesn't look like it was broken.' That is a very strange thing about this Pipe that my children have, here. It was broken, but when they opened the Bundle again, it was all right. That's very strange." 778 276 173

Running Wolf and Heavy Shield are remembered as Owners of our Pipe during the Old Days. One of its former Owners, White Horn, John Many Chiefs, gave me the following list of the Bundle's Owners as far back as he knew them: 793 778 551 [115]

1. Lizard Shoulder
2. Eagle Arrow
3. Frank Red Crow
4. Red Beads
5. John Cotton
6. Red Leggings
7. Bumble Bee
8. Arthur Healy
9. Wings
10. Bob Black Plume
11. Crow-Spreads-His-Wings
12. John Many Chiefs
13. Laurie Plume
14. Willie Scraping White (Wolf Old Man)
15. Bob First Charger
16. Frank Red Crow
17. Jim Red Crow
18. Stabs Down
19. Adolf Hungry Wolf

Arthur Healy is the earliest Owner still living. He was just a young man when he received the Bundle. It was a gift when he married the daughter of its former Owner, old Bumble Bee. Healy transferred the Bundle to old Wings, who died not long ago. 793 778 [584]

Wings took over our Bundle sometime in the 1920s. The minipoka of his father, Day Old Man, he joined the Pigeon Society when he was only ten years old. At fifteen he became a member of [858] [575] [561]

[p. 155-B]

***were gone for three months. It's pretty tough when you are so far away from home and you get homesick. I used to just get into my wagon and drive around and try to pretend that I was back at home, here. But that was kind of hard. We never saw any kangaroos when I went for a ride in my wagon here, but we sure did there. We raced chuckwagons and horses while we were down there; we showed their cowboys how we do it here.*** 484 177

***A lot of Old People prayed for me before I left. They were pretty worried about us going so far and across so much water. We went from Vancouver by boat, it took us twenty-six days.*** [782]

Joe's wife joined the Horns Society once, with her first husband, and recently she joined again with Joe. He is the oldest member of the society. His wife said, "Don't ask him if he's ever had a vision. He was too scared to go out by himself to do that; he just chased the girls, instead." 156 [575] [787]

## MRS. ANNIE WADSWORTH

Eighty-two-year-old Annie Wadsworth was a cousin of Charcoal. She can still remember when he came to her mother one night, when he was wanted for murder, and asked for food and sewing materials, which her mother gave him at great risk. 574

The most outstanding fact of Mrs. Wadsworth's life, however, is that her parents gave her away as a bride in the Old Way when she was only seven years old. Her father was Moon Calf; her mother, Forward Stealing Woman. They gave her to eighteen-year-old Willie Wadsworth, then better known as Wearing-a-Tailfeather-Headpiece. She says that she does not regret being married so early because her husband treated her very well throughout their life together. They had twelve children. 584

She speaks of her early marriage: 584●

*Yes, I was still running amongst the girls.* [156]
*I was still small and naughty. My father told me*
*one day, "You will get married. There is a boy* [581]
*that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy,*
*so he will be kind to you."*

*I was very proud that I was getting married.*
*I should have been educated first, but I obeyed*
*my father to get married so that someone would*
*look after me. He was getting ill then.*

*My mother sewed moccasins for me to get* 584
*married in. When winter came, it was on Christ-* 583
*mas, they got me my horse and they tied a travois*
*to him. I had my bedding and I had two par-*
*fleches; one was full of moccasins and one was*
*full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows*
*[backrests] were loaded, too, and some blankets*
*were put on top. I rode on one horse and there*
*were two more horses with many blankets tied on*
*them; they were all presents from my folks. I*
*don't remember everything about it, because I*
*was small. I don't know how many more horses* [425]
*were sent later; my husband traded off some of* [231]
*them for cows.*

*I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were* 584
*beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety*
*pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen* [292]
*blanket. We arrived at the old place where we* [657]
*used to get our rations. An interpreter lived*
*there. His name is Young Scabby Bull, a black*
*white-man [the Negro, Dave Mills]. My mother*
*told me to stay in there for a while so that she*
*could go and get rations. This was ration day.*

*So I sat there. Then a woman came in and*
*kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping*
*to see my mother, but I never saw her again that*
*day. She took me out and put me on the horse*
*with the travois. So we started off again. The*
*woman led the two other horses. She was on*
*horseback, too.*

*We came to a house. It was the house of my* 584
*deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there* 574

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Mr. and Mrs. Willie Wadsworth and family during a Sunday outing with some of their children.

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584 574 *by the name of Bull Head. He had two wives. One of them was named Shaggy. They both jumped out and took me down. I must have looked funny. A woman by the name of Annie started to laugh at me. She was John Cotton's* [292] *wife. I must have looked really funny. It was in the winter and I had on my buckskin dress, and my shawl was a small fancy blanket.*

585 *They fed us and then we started off again, on and on. Finally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the ration house. We came to* [342] *a place that is called Willows-in-the-Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a sod roof. We went in and they took my belong-* [352] *ings. At one side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved fancy. It was the bed of the one that I was going to marry!*

*My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her, "Have you got any toys?"* [431] *She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave*

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# Cut-Nose[1] (Told by *Apikuni*, but Actually Related to Him by Bear Head)

*Amunis Ahki* ("Otter Woman"), daughter of Eagle Plume, was the most beautiful girl of the Pikunis. She was fairly tall, exquisitely formed, of perfect features; her hair in two neat braids hung far below her waist. She was her mother's able assistant in all the lodge work and was given to sitting with her elders more than mingling with those of her own age; she loved to listen to the tales of the medicine men and the sacred Sun-lodge women—tales of the gods and their wondrous deeds. Seven times her mother had been leader of the women who annually built the great tribal offering to Sun, the medicine lodge, as we old-time traders called it. It was the girl's great ambition to be herself one of those sacred and honored women.

Only married and widowed women of absolutely blameless characters could vow to Sun that they would build him a great lodge. But now, in her eighteenth summer, Otter Woman was promised to young Black Elk. He was off with a war party to raid the horse herds of the Crows; upon his return, the two were to live in a lodge that their mothers had made, for which they had gathered the furnishings. Then when Black Elk should go again to war, or if he should fall sick, it would be her privilege to vow to Sun that, if he would keep her man safe in his encounters with the enemy or, on the other hand, cure him of his illness, she would build a sacred lodge in his honor.

[1] Published as "A Blackfoot Tragedy" in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (March 27, 1932).

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584 Many a youth, many a man of the tribe had sent friends to Eagle Plume to recount their brave deeds, enumerate their riches, and then offer many horses for his handsome daughter. But the chief was different from most fathers; to each emissary he replied that it was for the girl herself to decide whom she would marry. And of them all she had chosen Black Elk—not for his wealth, as he had but few horses; nor for his bravery, as he had never been in a fight with the enemy. She had said "Yes" to him because of his known kindness of heart, his unremitting care for his mother and her younger children, and because she had always loved him, though silently and from afar.

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782 And now Black Elk had been gone forty-one days. Soon now he would be returning, coming with enemy horses, enemy weapons, enemy scalps, now a real warrior, to claim her for his woman. Daily that powerful Sun priest Three Bears had ridden the round of the great camp, shaking his rattle, singing the song for the absent, naming each member of the war party and calling upon the people to pray for their safety in the enemy country and their quick return with much enemy property. How proud she was when she heard the old priest name her man-to-be—four times shout out his name and call upon the people to pray for him. How long and earnestly she prayed for him—not only then, but frequently during the day—and promised Sun rich offerings for his safe return.

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123 At this time—it was the summer of 1879—the great camp of the tribe was pitched on Arrow Creek, a stream rising in the Belt Mountains and joining the Missouri River about a hundred miles below Fort Benton. I was there, a guest in the lodge of my friend Bear Head, and having a grand time running herds of buffalo with him and other keen horsemen of the tribe; hunting grizzly bears, deer, elk, antelope, bighorns; and of evenings sitting with the old men and listening to their tales of war—dramatic recitals of their myths and [521] legends and the wondrous power of their sky gods. And listening to the talk of Bear Head's women and their friends, I learned much of the gossip of the camp—among other things, of the approaching marriage of young Black Elk and the daughter of Eagle Plume, whose lodge was close on the left of ours in the great camp circle.

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727 were counting the riders, and suddenly Bear Head nudged me and said: "*Apikuni,* it is not to be all happiness; they were forty-one when they left us, and now they number but forty. Hear you not the sad crying?"

727 And then we saw that Otter Woman was one of the stricken; her
765 mother was bringing her in, supporting her wavering steps, and she was crying: "Black Elk! Black Elk! Black Elk! *Haiya, haiya!* My sweetheart Black Elk! He is dead, he is dead. *Haiya! Haiya!*

The two went into their lodge. We saw Black Elk's mother, sister, an aunt, and cousin going slowly back to their lodge, all of them
726 mourning for their loved one. A little later, Bear Head invited one of
727 the party to come in and smoke with us, and he told us how the youth had been killed: The party had night-raided a camp of Crows, well up the Bighorn River, and taken off with more than a hundred horses. But before reaching the Yellowstone they had been obliged to stop and fight a party of about fifty Crows too closely pursuing them. They had driven them back, killing five, but Black Elk had been too brave, too crazily brave; he had kept on after all of his companions had given up the pursuit, and so had been shot down. But, resuming the chase, they had prevented the Crows' counting coup upon him; they had given the youth decent burial on a bank of the Yellowstone and brought back his horse and various belongings to turn over to his father.

765 So passed young Black Elk. His sorrowing sweetheart, his mother, and female relatives gashed the calves of their legs, unbraided their hair, fasted, and daily went out a little way from camp and mourned pitifully and long, until they became hoarse and could no more than croak his name.

584 Gradually the mourning became less intense; finally, ceased. And again youths of the great camp, dressed all in their best and painted and armed came and stood silently, stiffly before Otter Woman's lodge, and for hours at a time—that the usual way of Blackfoot courting of a girl; and how foolish, how simperingly silly were their faces when passing children and even their elders asked them what they were doing there. Hoped each of them to get a smile, a nod of assent from the worshiped one, but she went to and fro about her work as

though they were not present. And then, one by one, they sent friends to her father to speak for them; but always the answer was: "My daughter bids me say to you that she will never marry. You should know as well as I do that she is not of two tongues."

So at last all courting of Otter Woman ceased. And then one day she asked her father to organize a party to make a raid on the Crows and allow her to accompany him as his pipe carrier, his servant; for she wanted to learn the ways of war and in time become a leader of war parties, as that ancestor of theirs, that virgin warrior, Running Eagle, had led parties in the long ago.

"Yes, successfully for a time, until she was shot down in a night raid upon a camp of the River People," said Eagle Plume.

"*Ha!* But what a happy way to die. Father, it is that I want to avenge fully the passing of the one I love, the only one I ever could love. I want to fight and fight and fight the Crows; make them pay dearly for what they have done to me."

"Oh, no! No!" her mother cried. "Daughter, you were not born for the war trail; your ways are the ways of real women; you love the lodge and all the lodge work. She was a man in a woman's body, that Running Eagle; when of but few winters, she demanded of her father a real bow and arrows. She hunted with him; killed buffalo, deer, elk, even real bears."

To Otter Woman, it was as though her mother had not spoken; she kept her eyes on Eagle Plume, and after long thought he replied: "This that you ask of me is very serious. I will pray the Above Ones to give me a revealing vision; it is for them to point out to me what answer to make to your request."

Time passed and Eagle Plume seemed to be unable to get the dream that he wanted; then one day he came hurrying into his lodge and said to the girl: "Daughter, the Above Ones, as you know, have given me no vision about that which you asked of me, and now I know their reason for denying it to me: I have just now been visiting with Talks-with-the-Buffalo. He has asked me to give you to him."

Otter Woman laughed. And then: "That man! Of your own age: of two wives and many children! He must be crazy. What did he say when you told him that I shall never marry?"

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584 "I did not tell him that. You know, daughter, that he is my more-than-friend, my more-than-brother; that in our fight with the Assiniboines, in the Bear Paw Mountains, he saved me from them though himself badly wounded."

"What? You told him then, that man of many wives, and old, of heart so cold that he never laughs, that he could have me?"

"No, daughter, I did not give you to him; I said that I would ask you to become his woman."

"Knowing well that I will not do it. Surely you were not afraid to tell your more-than-friend that I am not for him?"

581 584 "Daughter, it is that every woman of our tribe should marry, have children. All too few are our men. They fall in battle with our many enemies; they are continually being crippled, killed in the chase. Now you, desiring revenge upon the Crows, you can do far more by raising children, brave, strong youths to fight them, than you can by going yourself against them. Daughter, as you love me, as you love your mother, I call upon you to marry Talks-with-the-Buffalo, saver of my life. It is your plain duty to have children by him, brave sons to grow up and fight our many enemies."

The girl made no reply to that. She went out and across the camp to the lodge of her dead sweetheart's mother, Mink Woman, and remained with her a long time. Bear Head and I were sitting with Eagle Plume, smoking with him, when she came home; he had been telling us of Talks-with-the-Buffalo's sudden request for her, his hope that she would go to him. Very solemn, downcast, she was as she sat down beside her mother, leaned against her and said: "Father, I have been with Mink Woman; she thinks, as you do, I should marry, have sons to grow up and avenge the death of him we loved. So is it that I will marry your more-than-friend." And with that she began to cry. Bear Head and I got up and quietly left the lodge.

595 [583] With her various belongings, the girl moved into her new home that evening, and presently we learned that she was not happy there; *Otahki*, the younger of the two sisters Talks-with-the-Buffalo had married, was very jealous of the new wife and was slyly doing all that she could to make trouble for her in her new life. Even, at times, she boldly lied about her, told their man that, when the two went

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6



836 But while the faithless wife was thus exposed to punish-
589 ment and obloquy, it was different with the unmarried woman. She was regarded as mistress of her own actions and no shame attached to her for unchastity. Many young women in every village carried on a business of common prostitutes without suffering any loss of standing. On the contrary, they were received everywhere on terms of social equality, and often subsequently became faithful wives.
837 A similar immunity from punishment or popular censure was enjoyed by the wife whose lewdness was with the consent of or by the direction of her husband. Such cases were not infrequent, sometimes from a desire for gain, again as a point of hospitality to a favored guest, particularly when the host, as was very common with the Blackfeet, enjoyed a plurality of wives.

INTRODUCTION OF THE YOUNG MAN AS A WARRIOR

701 Usually about the age of sixteen the young man is re-
702 garded as a warrior. He reaches this dignity by no ceremony, but it is tacitly admitted by virute of his strength, hardihood and ability and readiness to meet the foe in
[756] combat. When he first determines to seek the war path, his father usually procures the services of a medicine man, who paints him with mystic devices and mutters over him an invocation for courage, success in war, and a safe return, after which his father presents him with weapons
[729] and if able, a horse, and he is ready for the field. As a
[555] rule, the young men are very ambitious to distinguish themselves in war and seek every opportunity to win the
[883] honor that war-like deeds can alone secure. Not infrequently, however, they are great drones, lounging in the village, participating neither in the war nor the chase until they take wives, when perforce they must exert themselves to live.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

584 About the age of twenty-five the young warrior begins to
[582] think of having a wife. Having selected the woman he
[583] would thus honor, he loses no time in employing the civilized device of a tedious and uncertain courtship, but

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
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584 secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of
583 his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to
585 be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute
[562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she
607 is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be
[562] remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

POLYGAMY

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

FATHERS-IN-LAW AND MOTHERS-IN-LAW

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



Iskunáttàpsiua áistæmunìniuatàu, aχkūsímmaχs. Omá nínau omí otánni minípokàiinai omá manikā́pin ánnyaie áuaχkiskomoàu. Itáumatskaχtakìu kepí ponokā́mitaiks. Á´nnyaie iχ´tanístaumatskaχtakìu omí otoχkéman. A´moia natoápii omá nínau áiūsìua nitúyi noχkátanistoχkutsìu omí ús. Ki istuyísi, ánnyaie otáuyikòk. Sotámokòsimiuaie. A´uχkoyìmiuaie. Ki omá saχkínau áunimiuaie. I´kàstuyisatsìauaiks omíksi kipitákeks. Mátoχkotsinoyìauatsiks. Samísi omá saχkínau, otoχkéman áisauatsìu. Otapótsis omá saχkínau, áikaksinisàu. Otoχkéman omíksi itapótsopiks áistæmā́χkanaitapìpiinai únni okóni. Á´nniksaie otæχkóskan. Omá akéu itánnaipiksìstomoyinàiks. Manistápiksistàpiχ´p íksisakuìsts ánnistskaie áuæχkoskatom. Ki kæmítatsàpsis omá akékoān, kæmítæχpatòmis, ákstæminitsìuaie. Mátakstuyisatsìuats únni, maáχsi.

sisters. They also gave horses to their elder brothers. Their fathers went about the camp to invite the people. Then [when the people were together] they began to tell the news, how they went [on their trip], how they travelled about, how they got horses, how they cut loose the horses. About those things they told the news. And then they were given a big meal of berry-pemmican.

Then the strong warrior was picked out, that he might be a son-in-law. A chief's daughter, a child of plenty, was driven home to that young man. He gave ten head of horses [to the girl's father]. That many he gave for his wife. In the same way the man, that had him for son-in-law, also gave the holy things [he owned] to his son-in-law. And in winter-time he [the son-in-law] would get food for him. He [the father-in-law] had him for a child. He called him his son. And the young-married man called him father. The old women were very much ashamed of [their sons-in-law]. They could not see them. When the young-married man went on a hunt, he took his wife with him. When the young-married man came back with the meat, he only got off [his horse]. His wife would just take all the horses that carried the meat to her father's lodge. Those were the ones that he gave to his father-in-law [properly he did not give the horses,

kanistótoχpi, ánnimatanistòt. Nitánistau: Kímmòkit, nitsíiksíkop, aχkápiòkit. Nisótamaχpokòmau. I'kskìnatsiu. Nitáiastâχkìχ'p nokóai. Nitsítanika: Kakó, anaχkyápomaχkàt. Nisótamistapaχkài. Ki ostói stámoχkataχkàiiu. Kénnyaie nitsíu nitsínoχkyokoyi.

not know the way, I came. I said to him: My uncle, just take me home, I am very much afraid. He laughed at me therefore. He told me: You came alone. Now go back the same way as you came. I said to him: Pity me, I am very much afraid, take me home. He then went with me. It was very dark. I came near my tent. He told me: Go on, run home. Then I went away home. And he then also went home. And that way was my nightmare.

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## How a certain man came to be married.

Nitániko Kináksàpop ki nimátanikò Ksístapakainamàχka. Sótamoχtòmaχk ki omí Nátokiòkàs, otsítopiχ'pi Sóùtsiχ'pòtamisò. Nómoχtsitòto, náχkaie ponokâ'mitaua, tsítoyìnau. Támsokaniu omá Pitséksinaitapiàke: Kitákaitòm. Tsítanistau: Kitáikipan. Itaníu: Sá, kimátaikipaniχ'pa. Tsitánistau: Taká? Itaníu: A'χkyàpsaipi. Nitánistau: A', tákaχkai annóχk. Ki áisiksìnauiskitakyatoièksistsikùsi áiistapistokyeksistsikùsi nitákotamatsitòto. Itaníu: A'. Sotémitòtsiu, kénnyaie nimátsitòto. Tsítanistau: Tsáníua? Itaníu: Mátaipuyiu. Nitsítanik: Apinákusi tákatanistau. Itaníu: A'. Sótamanistau: Tákototaki áinakàsi, tákoχtaχkàpiau. Itaníu: Kakó. Nisótamaχkài. Tsitótaki áimakàsi, ki

I am called Little-plume, and I am called also For-nothing-many-guns. I then went to Two-Medicine river, where Came-up-over-the-hill-with-the eagle-tail-feathers stayed. I came there, there was a horse, I went to catch him. Then Snake-people-woman [the wife of the man just mentioned] said: I will get you a wife. I told her: You are fooling. She said: No, I don't fool. I asked her: Who [is it]? She said: Charging-home. I said to her: Yes, I shall go home now. And two days after New-year I shall come back here again. She said: Yes. Then it came to time, [that] I came there again. I asked her [Snake-people-woman]: What does she say? She answered: She does not say anything. [Snake-

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



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ænníkˈ nómoχtàtotomaχk. Nitsitóto χsi atákuyi, ki itaníu: Mátæstaχpa, nákitapòχsi kokóai. Ki annóm ákitaupàuop. A´, nitákitaχkapiaii nitáinakàsim. Itaníu: A´. Nisótæmatskomaχk. A´utako tsitóto. Sótæmitsòk. Ki nisámo, nitákoχkèmsini, nitáutomatàpaχkai. Ki itáχsitakiu, nákoχpoksimaχsi. Sótæmitaupi, ómaχkaistuyì tsítàupi. Kænní nepúyi tsítatoapoχkèmatàu. Natoápoyìsi, ænnimaie itstsíu. Kénni nisótæmipuχsapaiaχsaupiχ´pinan, ki kénnoχkauk, náχkoχkaiakietoχsinan. Ki annóχk nitáumatapietaχtàmiskani. Ki annóm natoiéksistsìkuyi tsítotoisàipiaii Maníua A´pssùyi. Annóm oksístoauai itáupiiau annóχk. Ki annóχk itæstsinaupi íkskàumaitau, ìstuyíu. Stsíka mátâχkototaua. Ki kénnimaie nómâχketsinìki.

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people-woman] told me: In the morning I will tell her again. Then [having been told by Snake-people-woman, that she ought to marry me] she said: Yes. Then I told [Snake-people-woman]: I will go and get the waggon, I will bring her home with it. She said: Go ahead. Then I went home. I got the waggon, and I came back with it. When I got back in the evening, [Charging-home] said: I don't like to go [literally: that I shall go] to your home. And now we shall stay here. [I said:] Yes, I shall bring my waggon home. She said: Yes. Then I went home. In the evening I got there. Then I slept. And after a while I got back to be married [literally: for my going to be married]. And she consented, that I should remain with her together. Then I stayed there, I stayed there the whole winter. And in summer I got married by the priest. It was in the church. And then we lived together all-right till now, and it is now [just the same], that there is nothing to part us yet. And now I began to work on the ditch. And [last] Sunday I took Mary and White-whiskers [my step-children] out of school [and brought them] here. They are staying now here with their mother. And to-day, [this] Saturday, there is awfully much rain, it is cold. Some [of the people] have got no wood [to make a fire]. And this is the end of my story.

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian, on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot marriages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new